1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
243 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfil them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

cally as *muli tukuna* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tukuna* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *taingalou*. *Wutonga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayei, a gift of talo to the gods Matalomea and Matalolua, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *tukutapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 292).

Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yeeni*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yeeyou nunui*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pe tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *alouni*, the mean or stingy person, *kaiionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

PAYMENTS

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who
431 borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
476 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

574 When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the neces-
554 sary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of avail-
able food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more
[322] talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are
fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized,
the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day
by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the
afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quan-
tities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the
canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is
termed *unkayinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the
head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes
to the feast (*unkamalienga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new
canoe is called *unkayinunga esatolo* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*matienga*) for
the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construc-
tion, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depend-
ing on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the
builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant
carpenter, one fishing line of *unu*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-
shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one
fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or
thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manu* (talo puddings, each
weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manu*, and one
pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the
talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2
inches); each man received seven *manu*, each woman five *manu*, each child one *manu*;
each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally pre-
pared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu himine*) of
the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of
food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; every-
where remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
574 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 3
431 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,000
621 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these
foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that
happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof
627 that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/2. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]